

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-15

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66011  
DRAFTED BY:EUR/WE:EMROWELL  
APPROVED BY:EUR/WE - MR ROWELL  
S/S -MVKENNEY  
EUR-RDVINE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON 0000

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 157208

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 2559 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN,  
CAPE TOWN, DAR ES SALAAM, GABORONE, LAGOS, LIBREVILLE,  
LONDON, LUSAKA, MAPUTO, OTTAWA, PARIS, AND PRETORIA DATED  
JUNE 20, 1978.

QUOTE: CONFIDENTIAL USUN NEW YORK 02559

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP MEETING OF JUNE 19

REF: (A) USUN 2538, (B) USUN 2537, (C) CAPE TOWN 1219,  
(D) CAPE TOWN 1216, (E) DAR ES SALAAM 2616

1. THE CONTACT GROUP MET JUNE 19 TO CONSIDER VIEWS  
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OF CAPITALS AND EMBASSIES ON THE PROPOSED APPROACHES  
TO BOTHA AND NYERERE DESCRIBED REF A. THE  
GROUP AGREED THAT THE APPROACH TO BOTHA SHOULD BE MADE  
FIRST AND THAT THE ONE TO NYERERE SHOULD BE HELD OFF  
UNTIL THE RESULTS OF THE FORMER HAVE BEEN ASSESSED.  
THE APPROACH TO BOTHA SHOULD BE MADE AS SOON AS  
POSSIBLE.

2. THE CONTACT GROUP DECIDED ON A NUMBER OF ALTERATIONS  
TO THE TALKING POINTS CONTAINED REF B; THE REVISED

TEXT FOLLOWS PARA FIVE BELOW. IN ADDITION TO THESE TALKING POINTS, WHICH WOULD BE MADE ORALLY ONLY, THE GROUP BELIEVES THAT, AS SUGGESTED BY THE CAPE TOWN FIVE, A BRIEF MESSAGE FROM THE FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS SHOULD BE PRESENTED IN WRITING AT THE SAME TIME. THE PURPOSE OF THE MESSAGE WOULD BE TO MAKE CLEAR THE PERSONAL INTEREST THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS ARE TAKING IN THIS APPROACH.

3. WE LEAVE IT TO CAPE TOWN AMBASSADORS TO DECIDE THE BEST MANNER OF APPROACHING BOTHA. WE NEED A WAY FOR THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND THE AFRICANS TO BACK AWAY FROM RIGID POSITIONS. THEY MIGHT BEST BE ABLE TO DO SO IF APPROACHED INFORMALLY AND EVEN SECRETLY. THUS, IT MIGHT BE BEST IF ONE OR TWO AMBASSADORS SAW BOTHA AT HIS OR FOURIE'S HOME WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRESS.

4. THE AGREED DRAFT MESSAGE FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT OF MESSAGE:

WE BELIEVE THAT WE ARE VERY CLOSE TO A SETTLEMENT IN  
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NAMIBIA AND CONSIDER THAT IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF AFTER FIFTEEN MONTHS OF CONCENTRATED AND COOPERATIVE EFFORT, WE ALLOWED A SOLUTION TO ELUDE US. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT OUR PROPOSAL PROVIDES AN EFFECTIVE AND PRAGMATIC BASIS FOR BRINGING ABOUT AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION.

IN OUR VIEW ONLY ONE QUESTION, NAMELY THE LOCATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE, SEPARATES US FROM FINAL AGREEMENT. WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THIS ISSUE CAN BE RESOLVED WITHIN THE TERMS OF OUR PROPOSAL. WE HAVE, THEREFORE, INSTRUCTED OUR AMBASSADORS TO DISCUSS WITH YOU A POSSIBLE MEANS OF DEALING WITH THIS ISSUE. WE URGE THAT YOU GIVE IT MOST CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

IF THIS ISSUE CAN BE RESOLVED, WE PLAN TO BRING THE NAMIBIA QUESTION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE AND TO PRESS FOR THE SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL. END TEXT OF MESSAGE.

5. FOLLOWING ARE THE REVISED TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH BOTHA: BEGIN TALKING POINTS.

BEGIN TEXT:

IT IS THE VIEW OF OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS THAT WE ARE NOW

VERY CLOSE TO A FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION. FOLLOWING THE LUANDA MEETING THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS INFORMED US THAT THERE WERE ONLY TWO ISSUES STANDING IN THE WAY OF SWAPO ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSALS NAMELY WALVIS BAY AND THE LOCATION OF THE RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS.

THE AFRICAN SIDE HAS ACCEPTED THAT WALVIS BAY WILL BE DEALT WITH OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF THE PROPOSALS  
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BY MEANS OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA. NEVERTHELESS, AS WE TOLD MR. FOURIE, WE CONSIDER THAT IN ANY CONSIDERATION OF OUR PROPOSAL BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY WILL INEVITABLY ARISE. WE SHALL HAVE TO STATE OUR POSITION AND IN DOING SO WILL BE GUIDED BY THE BELIEF THAT THERE ARE COMPELLING GEOGRAPHICAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND ADMINISTRATIVE ARGUMENTS WHY WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE PART OF AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA.

IN ESSENCE, THEREFORE, ONLY ONE QUESTION, NAMELY THE LOCATION OF TROOPS, SEPARATES US FROM FINAL AGREEMENT. WE BELIEVE THERE MAY BE A WAY OF RESOLVING THIS QUESTION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PROPOSAL AS IT STANDS. OUR PURPOSE HERE IS TO ENLIST YOUR HELP AND TO EXPLORE WITH YOU THE POSSIBLE SOLUTION WE HAVE IN MIND. KEEPING IN MIND THAT OUR OBJECTIVE TODAY IS TO WORK WITH THE PROPOSAL WHICH YOU HAVE ACCEPTED, WE WOULD FIRST LIKE TO REVIEW THE DEVELOPMENTS WHICH MAKE THIS IMPORTANT.

AS YOU KNOW, THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAVE PROPOSED THAT THE REMAINING SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS SHOULD BE LOCATED SOUTH OF WINDHOEK. WE RECOGNIZE THE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES THAT SUCH A CHANGE IN THE PROPOSAL WOULD CAUSE FOR YOU. WE HAVE WELCOMED YOUR ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL AND YOUR READINESS TO SEEK AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF YOUR CONCERN FOR THE SECURITY OF NAMIBIA AT THE PRESENT STAGE, DURING THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE AND FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE. FURTHERMORE WE SHARE YOUR DESIRE TO BRING THIS MATTER TO A SPEEDY CONCLUSION.  
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WE MUST STRESS, HOWEVER, THAT ACTIONS WHICH SOUTH AFRICA HAS TAKEN SUBSEQUENT TO ACCEPTING THE FIVE'S PROPOSALS HAVE HINDERED OUR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN SWAPO AND FRONTLINE ACCEPTANCE OF IT. THE CASSINGA RAID, THE ARREST OF

SWAPO MEMBERS INSIDE NAMIBIA AND THE INITIATION OF THE PROCESS OF ELECTORAL REGISTRATION; ALL OF THESE HAVE GREATLY COMPLICATED OUR OWN TASK. THE CASSINGA RAID HAD A PARTICULARLY SERIOUS EFFECT AND IS THE PRINCIPAL REASON FOR THE FRONTLINE SUMMIT REQUEST THAT THE REMAINING TROOPS SHOULD BE MOVED SOUTH OF WINDHOEK. AS YOU YOURSELF HAVE SAID, IT REALLY DOES NOT MATTER WHERE THE TROOPS ARE LOCATED IF THERE IS TO BE A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND A REDUCTION OF FORCES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROPOSALS. THIS APPLIES ON BOTH SIDES. BUT WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS A GENUINE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEM. IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT IT IS NOW NECESSARY TO MAKE SOME GESTURE TO CLOSE THE NARROW GAP SEPARATING US FROM A SETTLEMENT.

THIS GAP MUST BE BRIDGED. WE ARE NOT SURE HOW IT CAN BE DONE. WE HAVE AS A FIRST STEP LOOKED FOR MEANS OF DEALING WITH IT WITHIN THE TERMS OF OUR PROPOSAL.

WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND IS A RELATIVELY MINOR ADJUSTMENT. AT PRESENT THE PROPOSAL PROVIDES FOR THE LOCATION OF RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AT OSHIVELLO OR GROOTFONTEIN OR BOTH. IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO BRIDGE THE GAP IF SOUTH AFRICA WOULD AGREE TO CONFINE ITS FORCES TO GROOTFONTEIN ONLY. THIS WOULD NOT REQUIRE AN ALTERATION OF THE PROPOSAL, SIMPLY AN ASSURANCE BY SOUTH AFRICA THAT THEY INTENDED TO TAKE THE OPTION PROVIDED IN THE PROPOSALS OF CONCENTRATION AT GROOTFONTEIN. IF SOUTH AFRICA IS PREPARED TO AGREE TO THIS INTERPRETATION, WE WOULD ASK PRESIDENT NYERERE TO DISCUSS THE MATTER FURTHER WITH HIS FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES, IN THE HOPE OF OBTAINING THEIR AGREEMENT AND THAT OF SWAPO.

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IF HE IS SUCCESSFUL, THERE WOULD THEN APPEAR TO BE NO OBSTACLE TO AN EARLY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING TO ENDORSE OUR PROPOSALS AND SET IN TRAIN THE PROCEDURE LEADING TO AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA ACCEPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

END TALKING POINTS. LEONARD UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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